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The Pueblos of the South-Western United States[1]

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THIS PAPER PRESENTS SOCIAL STRUCTURAL DATA on the pueblos of the south-western United States and offers an ecological explanation for the cultural differences between the western and eastern pueblos. Our most complete published materials on the pueblos are those for the western pueblos of Zuni and Hopi, hence in this paper fuller data will be supplied for the eastern pueblos. Particularly detailed information will be furnished on the Tewa, a branch of the Tanoan division of the eastern pueblos, from field materials as yet unpublished.[2]

THE PUEBLOS IN GENERAL

A review of the physical environment, history, linguistic, social, and cultural characteristics of the pueblos will precede our fuller discussion of the Rio Grande Tewa pueblos. Pueblo communities are located in the arid high plateau area of northern Arizona and north central New Mexico. There are no permanently flowing streams in the Hopi country. A small stream serves Zuni village, but there is no extensive use of spring or stream water in either the Hopi or Zuni villages for farming operations. These Indians rely almost exclusively on adequate rainfall and wash-offs for a satisfactory harvest of planted crops. The pueblo villages of the Rio Grande drainage, the eastern pueblos, are more favourably located in areas of permanently flowing waters, either along the banks of the Rio Grande or its tributaries. These pueblos are not as a consequence dependent solely on rainfall for the maturing of crops, but have constructed irrigation canals to divert the waters of streams to planted fields.[3]

Settlements in the Hopi and Zuni areas go back to at least the tenth century A.D. In the Rio Grande area, the prehistoric ancestors of modern Tanoan and Keresan speakers settled in the region somewhat later, and each language group is believed to have come from different areas and separate archaeological traditions in the south-west (Reed 1949, pp. 163–84). The historical period in the south-west begins with Coronado's exploration of the region in 1540. Castañeda's account of this expedition (Winship 1896) presents a good view of pueblo life in the sixteenth century. As many as three expeditions entered the Pueblo country after Coronado, and in 1598 Spanish colonists arrived (Hammond 1926). Spanish missionaries and civil authorities immediately applied themselves to christianizing and 'civilizing' the pueblos, a task which their successors have carried on for nearly 400 years. Except for livestock and other tangible aspects of Spanish culture, the Zuni and Hopi Indians rejected virtually everything else the Spaniards offered. The Rio Grande pueblos rebelled initially, but overwhelmed by superior arms they eventually capitulated and worked out an accommodation which we have elsewhere characterized as 'compartmentalization' (Dozier 1958a). They adopted the externals of the Spanish-Catholic religion but behind this

organization almost solely concerned with activities to induce rainfall, is strong among Keresan pueblos. The organization exists with the Tewa in less elaborate form and is absent among the Tiwa. Medicine associations which are important among the Keresans are weakly represented among the Tewa, correspondingly weak in Isleta, and absent from the northern Tiwa. Keresan medicine associations have both curative and governmental-ceremonial functions, the latter functions we believe were 'added' as clans 'lost' their corporate characteristics. Medicine associations among the Tewa and at Isleta have only curative functions, while governmental and religious responsibilities, among Tanoans generally, are handled by special associations which are not represented among Keresans.

Institutions which are similar in organization and equally important for both Keresan and Tanoan pueblos are associations for war, hunting, and clowns (*koshare, kwirena*). These associations will be described briefly for the Tewa.

Each Rio Grande pueblo community is an independent political unit. There is no overall organization which unites all the pueblos, indeed even pueblos speaking the same language have no political superstructure. While the political machinery is restricted to the village, ceremonial co-operation and participation on a voluntary basis extend beyond village and linguistic boundaries. Thus a village which has 'lost' an important ceremonial association may reactivate the association by having one of its members initiated into the same or similar association still in existence in another village. Further, Pueblo Indians who in their village belong to the Katcina cult are permitted to attend Katcina ceremonies in other villages and may even participate in such ceremonies. Similar attendance and participation privileges are extended to members of pueblo associations which have representation across villages. These activities, while usually restricted to men, have brought about inter-pueblo similarities in ceremonial patterns. Despite inter-village co-operation, however, an individual owes primary allegiance to his community and village autonomy is of primary importance. Indeed, inter-village marriages, even among villages of the same language, are strongly discouraged and in actuality occur very infrequently, at least in the past.

Another important feature of Rio Grande pueblos is the absence of classes. There is no ranking of families or individuals within a pueblo. In the past some pueblos set aside a field to be cultivated by the community and its yield collected for the village chief. This, however, was a service performed for a man who was extremely busy in his discharge of duties for the community, and not because he or his family were privileged people.

It is important at this point to return to a consideration of the irrigation and ecological hypothesis for accounting for differences between western and eastern pueblos and specifically for explaining the changes we have outlined for Keresan pueblos. The influence of large-scale irrigation projects on the nature of Oriental society and Ancient America have been stressed recently by Wittfogel (1957). Earlier, Wittfogel & Goldfrank (1943, p. 20) presented a provocative article on the influences of irrigation on pueblo society and suggested that we look for 'certain forms of civil and magic leadership, for institutionalized discipline, and a specific social and ceremonial organization'. This suggestion is taken up in the present analysis.[8] Among the western pueblos and particularly at Hopi where there are no permanent streams, successful farming depends

on the exigencies of the weather. Rainfall in this area is frequently less than ten inches annually, and even when it rains, it may not fall where needed, or may fall in such torrents that crops are uprooted and destroyed. Yet a society with primitive technology can do very little in this kind of environment to develop a dependable and adequate water supply. Confronted with this problem, the Hopi have understandably resorted to a complex ceremonialism which emphasizes the magical control of the weather. On the other hand, since the Hopi can do nothing in a practical and direct way about increasing the water supply, they have not developed governmental institutions which would mobilize and supervise a maximum number of adults in working actively to improve farming operations. A social organization based on small clans as corporate units is adequate enough for the kind of primitive small-scale agriculture possible in the area and there are no other tasks which necessitate the concerted action of a whole community and even less for the organized efforts of several communities. The clan is the largest political unit with an average membership of about sixty individuals, and a pool of workers, counting males and females of no more than about twenty.

Farming among the Hopi requires no complicated system of canals, terraces, or dams. Corn, melons, and beans are planted in alluvial fans or on the banks of dry gulches (*arroyos*). Rains in the summer bring flood waters which sweep over the fields and provide the essential moisture to the planted crops. Farming is a hazardous occupation since there are often insufficient rain and frequently uncontrollable floods which uproot or bury the growing crops in sand. The Hopi farmer thus plants several fields to guard against loss from floods and relies on magical rites to bring about just the proper amount of moisture to ensure a harvest. This type of farming, in contrast with that practised by the Rio Grande pueblos, is a family or clan project and does not involve the whole community.

Environmental conditions in the Rio Grande area are similar to the Hopi country except for one crucial factor: there is one fairly large river with a number of tributary streams which flow permanently. It is possible here to direct the activities of man to construct dams and irrigation canals even with primitive tools. But the construction of dams and ditches and their maintenance, together with the complicated problems of the allocation of water rights, demands a social organization which can mobilize and control a fairly large adult force and satisfy the irrigational needs of the society. Clan organizations of the kind found in the south-west are capable of bringing together only a small number of adults which with a primitive technology cannot accomplish the demands of an irrigation society. It is not surprising, then, that the Rio Grande pueblos are organized on a community basis rather than on a lineage principle. While the Rio Grande pueblos are approximately the same size as Hopi villages (about 500 inhabitants), they can quickly mobilize a force of over a hundred individuals for communal projects. Our discussion of Tewa social organization will illustrate the intricate socio-political organization which gives these pueblos centralized direction and performs tasks which often require the united efforts of the whole community.

Irrigation and the tasks associated with it are the most important communal projects of the Rio Grande pueblos. One or two irrigation canals, running for several miles, are constructed from the headwaters of the main stream or streams, and engineered to bring just the proper amount of water, not too slowly and not too swiftly,